177 183 563 have brought to their customs rather than truly adhere to them. This passive attitude is due to an inveterate fatalism which makes them bow before the undisputed master, the Mututsi, and also to the antiquity of custom which makes it as respectable as an almost divine institution.

671 As is the case in the Belgian Congo and generally in [5] Black Africa, the common law contains not only juridical rules applicable to persons, property, and society, it also contains religious and magic regulations, various recipes, etc. Such as it is, it forms a disparate yet solid whole which gives the solution to problems arising from the individual and collective life of the Banyarwanda.

671 184 563 The common law of Ruanda, applicable to a homogeneous population, is the same everywhere, except in the north on the frontier of Kivu and Uganda, where the authority of the Batutsi over the Bahutu could not assert itself as in the rest of the country. This independence has resulted in the substitution of the administration of the Bahutu clan and family chiefs for that of the Hamite officials.

114 Those who have known Ruanda and its people best are the members of the Society of Missionary Fathers of Africa. The Reverend Fathers Lupias, Schumacher, Arnoux, Pages, and Hurel have published, in the Anthropos and Congo reviews (among others) and in numerous monographs, elaborate studies on different aspects of the social, political, religious, and intellectual life of the Banyarwanda. The territorial governors Lenaerts and Sandrart have also brought fruitful contributions to the knowledge of Ruanda common law.

121 [125] Nevertheless, we do not believe that a more or less complete account of the customs of private and public law of Ruanda has ever been prepared. This is what we have modestly attempted to do in the present work by inserting observations gathered in a questionnaire set up especially to facilitate [6] the study of native law (1). We have

1. J. Vanhove, Questionnaire de Sociologie juridique, Brussels, printer Lesigne, 1939.

not been able to go into the details of all the institutions of which some, particularly those relative to cattle contracts, would alone require a whole volume.

124 But, in spite of the limited time we could devote to this account of the customs, we believe we have given the essential points

[41]

SECTION II. PROPERTY

1. Property in General

421 The Banyarwanda have a less abstract idea of property than we have. It is comparable to that of possession.

On the other hand, no differentiation is made between personal property and real estate. Property is given different names according to its nature and use. The Banyarwanda divide their property [into the following categories]: amatungo (animals); ibintu, a generic name applicable to the rugo, imilima (fields); ubgatsi (pasturage); imyaka (crops); and urutoke (banana plantations); ibiti (trees); intwaro (weapons and cutting instruments); ibikolesho (hoes, pickaxes, baskets, churns); imyambaro (clothing).

2. Landed Property

423 True landed property exists in Ruanda, while in the Belgian Congo the natives consider that the bare ownership of the land belongs to the souls of the departed and that they themselves only have usufruct.

[643] All the land in the country belongs to the Mwami who relin-
423 guishes its use successively to the various chiefs and subchiefs. These,
425 in turn, cede an isambu (land sold) or concede an umwatano (land
427 leased) to the Bahutu in consideration of a price or a payment consisting of a certain percentage of future crops (ichyata umulima, lit., gift in order to have a field).

The Muhutu holds his land in a more or less precarious way. Even if he makes his payments regularly [42] his land may be taken away from him one day, if, for example, he neglects to pay the customary dues to the chiefs and the king. In this case he may be deprived of all or part of his land, but the last crop is not taken from him (1).

423
●184 1. An appreciably different administration of property exists in the western part of Bunyambiriri, the extreme north of Ndiza,

423
184 and in Rukiga (provinces of Mulera and Bugoyi) where the land cleared and cultivated by the Bahutu are subject to a right of family property. This right is sacred and the Batutsi, whose power in these regions is rather nominal, know that they cannot dispute it without exposing themselves to serious miscalculations and even to bloody reprisals.

423 The hill chief also has the right to take a plot of land
[622] (ubugerure) from the Bahutu in order to form an ubuka which he wishes
[415] to give to someone else or to keep as his own property (imilima y'inyarulembo). The part of the plot that is left to the Muhutu is called isagu.

[428] The Muhutu can transmit his right of exploitation to his son by inheritance. Land that passes from one generation to the next is called indeka.

[596] Land is sometimes held collectively by a family in the person of its head (isambu or ingobyi y'iwabo). Members of the family pay him no rent and, to the exclusion of strangers, have the right to cut firewood and graze their cattle there.

[622] There are also communal woods (itshanya). The hill chief reserves part of them for himself and allows the hill people to exploit the remainder.

[563] The Batwa claim to be the legitimate occupants of the forests. For this reason they often enter into disputes with the Bahutu living near the wooded regions.

[622] Mines and quarries of clay are the property of the chief, but he allows his people to [43] supply themselves there in exchange for a payment (a hoe or some pots).

The boundaries (imbibi) of fields are usually marked by small ditches (impavu) or piles of stones (ibishyinga).

There are no neutral zones between lands.

425
423 An inkungu is a piece of ground that has been abandoned because of the holder's voluntary departure or death without leaving an heir. A man who has been cursed by his father or driven out by the chief because of repeated thefts of cattle, for example, must also abandon his plot. The chief can offer an inkungu (or an ubugerure) to a stranger to the hill who asks to settle there. If he is a Muhutu, he is

173 The families or clans which made up each of those tiny states were at first autonomous and independent from one another. They were self-governed and lacked any well-defined authority. It was only gradually in the course of time that one local chief came to impose his will upon the others. Along with royal prerogatives, and in accordance with his title of sovereign, the man in power took over the functions of sorcerer, diviner, magician, rain maker, etc. The office of sorcerer-king (umuhinza) then became hereditary. The small provinces of Buberuka, Kibali, Buyoka, Bugarura, and especially Mulera, retained their original organization and never had kings. Each tribe governed and administered itself according to its own lights. As a result they were nearly always at war with one another owing to thefts, boundary disputes, or vendettas (2). Peace ruled for a while among

[628]

2. This region was preeminently the land of the vendetta. Individuals would take justice into their own hands, with the help of family or clan members, and were implacable in /seeking/ vengeance.

those tribes only when they banded forces against the common enemy, the detested Hamite, who, in spite of the fact that he had subdued them, had not deemed it safe to settle in the mountainous regions. Ruganzu II and Kigeri IV Lwabugiri are listed among the Hamitic kings who traveled through those areas populated by proud /77/ inhabitants. The mountain dwellers did not make a great show of resistance, but after the princes were gone, they nevertheless continued to lead an independent existence. No Mututsi chief dared settle among those fierce populations. Their only obligation was to pay tribute in kind to the king himself or to the high court dignitary who was supposed to govern the area at a distance.

The Bantu of the central and southern provinces, who make up the greater part of the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ population, [184] accepted and bore more readily the yoke of the Hamites, who settled among them and shared their way of life (1).

173
184

1. The clans in those provinces are more imbued with Mututsi influence and lack the jealous exclusivism of the tribes situated to the northeast of Lake Kivu. Their mores are gentler, and vendetta never ruled among them with the violence and frequency it assumes, for example, among the Balera and Bagoyi.

173 The vicissitudes of the conquest were numerous and varied. The immigrants used every possible means /to attain their goal/, violence, ruse, and diplomacy. Their chronicles /chansons de geste/ bear witness to this.

It seems that before they entered the land which they were to conquer, the Batutsi formed a solid group ruled by a single chief. The partition of the land and competition for power soon divided their allegiance and engendered fratricidal struggles.

After they had subdued the Bahutu (Bantu) princes, the central Batutsi, who dreamed of being the sole rulers of a vast land, turned against their own brothers who had hewed out small kingdoms in the Ndorwa, Gissaka, and Bugessera regions.

Were the two last-mentioned Hamitic kingdoms contemporary to that of Ruanda? Nothing rules against this possibility, since the columns that invaded Ruanda marched side by side /de front/, at least in the beginning.

King Gihanga, whose symbolic and significant name /78/ means "Creator," seems to have existed although the deeds which are attributed to him have a strongly legendary character. He is tenth in the dynasty. The authenticity of his reign tends to be corroborated by the fact that his original place of residence is said to have been the sacred land of Buhanga in the Muko Plain not far from the large Mukungwa River. Then he is said to have lived in the land of Kibali, at Kangomba, where a sacred grove (ikigabiro) stands. The same tradition locates his tomb, or at least that of his wife Nyirakabego,

563 entirely different. In fact, with a little practice, one can recog-
191 nize members of the herdsman aristocracy by their pronunciation. This leads one to believe that the pronunciation of the Batutsi has special phonetic characteristics which may throw light on their former idiom.

563 Bahutu. The difference between the Batutsi and their subjects is so great that by comparison all local differences in individual provinces disappear, and the country seems a homogeneous whole. The herdsmen in the minority are the most conspicuous because of their privileged position. They are closely united and give the entire country its homogeneous stamp.

Numerically the Batwa are so weak and so little in evidence that even in the west where there are more of them, they are not conspicuous. Also local differences are not apparent. Consequently territorial differentiation in the country is manifest chiefly in the second population element, the Bahutu farmers.

563 They make up the conservative element which supports the
178 entire edifice of the state and ensures the stability of the established order. However, they have little capability for independently organizing large states. They do, however, maintain the established forms and even preserve the traditions of a vanquished political organization. Indeed, traces of former conditions are found where individual provinces have given up their independent political existence and have been absorbed into a highly centralized state.
● [184] The Bahutu of the individual provinces show important differences
[101] and are themselves aware of these. Thus, when they speak of the Bagoye, Balera, and Banyanduga, they always mean the Bahutu. It is only in Kissaka that the term Banyakissaka stands for the inhabitants in general, and here memories of the state that united Bahutu and Batutsi are still very much alive. We must also not
[101] overlook the fact that the Bahutu of Bgisha in the southern part of Rutshuru call themselves Barundu or Barondo. For this reason it seems to me that the names of the countries of Urundi and Ruanda should be associated with the Bahutu substratum living there.

563 [129] The Bahutu are essentially more heterogeneous than
142 the Batutsi, although throughout the country they have many common traits. They are strikingly different from the herdsman aristocracy

794 515 Everything is repeated but much more madly. In the end all are invited to assemble early the next morning for the final ceremonies. The sick person is accompanied home, and there is dancing along the way. Sometimes for the rest of the night they stay out in the open, kulala alukome. The body of the sick person is rubbed with earth or sand so he will be all the more beautiful at the ablutions the next day.

On the fourth and last day the ceremony of mulwesero, "ablutions," takes place. Early in the morning all who have been invited go to a certain river, dressed in festive garb. A youth is held under water by the baishebuhemba; an adult dives [315] in after him. They hold their noses and ears shut with their fingers. The baishebuhemba pour water into the small boats made of mulinzi wood. After the diving, the trunk of the sick person is painted white with kaolin (runoni). Everyone present admires his beauty with the words: "You shine like a leopard; you are another person." There is celebrating and drinking on the shore of the river. Then, as on the previous days, the spirits are invoked. In the evening all the participants return, singing and dancing like maniacs. When they arrive in the courtyard of the house, they are given a hoe and four seeds: millet, manioc, gourd, and pea. The initiate buries them in the presence of his baishebuhemba and the others attending. They are placed on the two boats of mulinzi wood. Then he is given the name of a spirit and a crown with two cowrie shells. Not until later may the number of shells be increased. Then the initiate begins to act like one possessed. He goes so far as to abuse his relatives with indecent words. The baishebuhemba order him to lie down on the ground, and after a while the mugogo calls him by his ordinary name in order to remind him of his everyday life. The initiate pretends to be waking from a deep sleep. He looks at everyone present and greets them all quietly in the usual way. This is called "to take away the luchwezi." Then the initiation fees are paid, and the ceremony is over.

794 515 184 The two descriptions of the initiation ceremonies are somewhat different, but this probably indicates local differences in the cult.[1]

1. [i.e. the Babandwa cult—Analyst]

794 575 184 In general, the similarities are greater than the differences. We should like to mention only the rubbing with kaolin, the squirting of beer, the lighting of a fire at the ceremonies, the practice of making the candidate lie on the ground, the dances at the mulinzi tree, the tests, the threatening of the candidate, the female representative of Ryangombe, the connection between Ryangombe and millet beer which is used only in the northern steppes, and finally the secret cult language of the initiated.

Another very important fact is that the representative of Mugasha, the spirit of the waters and banana groves, unlike the female representative of Ryangombe, drinks banana beer from a gourd.

794 575 198 Secret Language. The babandwa use a special language in their rites, which is not known by the rest of the population and which belongs with the rest of the babandwa secrets, ibanga lyi bandwa. Father Van Thiele referred to this language in Ussuwi as luchwezi; I was told in Kissaka and Nduga (Marangara) that it is called lubandwa. I shall now make a list of the luchwezi words collected by Father Van Thiele and place them parallel to the lubandwa words collected by Father C. Lecoindre. I did not succeed in finding other data about the secret language. [317]

[60T] In Kissaka the babandwa never mention the name of the father-in-law, and he is referred to as ikitari lwa hurawaa.

794 575 782 Sacrifice. The manes are the only spirits to whom everyone may sacrifice. The most important sacrifices are made to Ryangombe and his disciples and these, as we have already said, may be performed only by the initiated (babandwa).

Father Van Thiele has the following to say about these ceremonies.

The mubandwa who is requested to make the sacrifice goes to the house of the donor the evening before to make the necessary preparations.

The next morning before sunrise the entire family and their dependents accompany the mubandwa with his helpers to the place of sacrifice, which is located at a crossroads. The father takes his bow and arrow. At the place the bound sacrificial animal is held by the sorcerer's attendants. The mubandwa kills the animal. The previously prepared secret objects are dipped in the

[Text continues on page 253 - Analyst]

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

for instance with a widow, intercourse took place with a brother or a parallel cousin of the deceased husband.

Among the Hutu when the inzu as such possessed fields (*ingobii* or *ubukonde*), as happened particularly in the northern area (Bugoyi, Mulera, Ndorwa), the individual member had a right to a plot (*isambo*). He could not sell such a plot, but could let it (at a rent of about one hoe for two years). If the ancestor has received cows from a lord (*shebuja*), these cows, or rather their offspring, were the property of the inzu which happened to have some pasture land. Among the Tutsi there were usually no land rights vested in the inzu. Tutsi as well as Hutu inzu had no sacred place other than the ancestor's shrine in the *rugo* (enclosure) of the lineage-head and the small huts in the enclosure of each descendant.

From this one may infer that the lineage group at the end of the nineteenth century was not a group with a territorial basis. It is very likely that a territorial lineage group was common among the Hutu and had persisted in the north where Hutu were predominant and where Tutsi occupation had always been scanty and superficial (there were very few Tutsi settlers in that region, apart from administrative chiefs).[9] On the other hand all the activities of the inzu just described implied a rather close co-residence (which is, of course, different from the concept of a territorial basis). These frequent gatherings, blood-feuds, and the rendering of help in difficult circumstances would hardly have been possible if the members of the group had been living in scattered places several days' journey apart. This explains also the crucial importance of the change of residence in the formation of a new inzu. When a branch of an inzu had to leave and settle elsewhere, it was bound to become a new inzu because the former relations with the members of the inzu who did not move could not have been maintained, at least among the Hutu and ordinary Tutsi. This was less important for Tutsi chiefs who were in any case moving about and travelling frequently.

(c) *Social roles within the inzu*

Following the authors of *Toward a General Theory of Action*, social role is understood here as the totality of reciprocal

[9] For an account of the specific structure of the kinship system in the north of Ruanda, the present-day districts (*territoires*) of Kisenyi, Ruhengeri and part of Biumba, see Hertefelt, 1959.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

important for prospective spouses? Among Hutu and Tutsi both patrilineages looked for the right connexion. Has the man's (or girl's) inzu a good reputation? Is it well considered at the king's court? Are they rich? Is it strategic, in present circumstances, to be allied to them? What are the relations between their cattle-lord and ours? Individual qualities considered as socially important were for the prospective wife of a Tutsi that she should be expert at keeping a house very clean, at basket work, and at commanding servants. The Hutu wanted a hard-working wife able to help them in the fields. The Twa appreciated, as we may expect, a skilled potter. The most important qualities of the culturally defined ideal husband was his ability to support economically his wife and their children. That meant for a Tutsi that he should be rich in cattle and clever in political intrigues; for a Hutu that he should be a good labourer and a client appreciated by his lord, and for a Twa that he should be a good craftsman or hunter or a buffoon, liked by his Tutsi protectors. These qualities mentioned by our informants are those which made spouses good partners in the co-operative economic unit of the family. In the mind of Ruanda that aspect of the family was clearly emphasized. Beauty and sex-appeal were also highly appreciated, however, particularly by Tutsi.

The normal marriage age for boys was around twenty-five for Tutsi, seventeen to eighteen for Hutu, and fifteen for Twa. For girls, when 'breasts were fully developed and beginning to fall down' I was told. This gives a rather large range of age. A girl could be married before puberty but she remained with her parents till her first menstruation.

According to informants, virginity was appreciated more than both beauty and ability to co-operate in economic pursuits. This was rationalized in terms of virginity being a guarantee of fertility and of stability in the family. Among the Hutu a small gift was sent to the girl's parents by the husband when the girl was found to be virgin.

The prospective spouse was not chosen by his or her future partner. The boy could express only to his paternal uncle or aunt nothing more than a wish to get married. The father was told of his son's desire and then looked for a suitable girl. When she was found, the inzu council met and the advisability of a connexion with the girl's inzu was discussed. When an agreement was reached on the choice, the boy's father asked for an appointment with the

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

herself. A widow became the wife of one of her late husband's siblings or agnates designated by the inzu head. Usually an older brother of the husband was chosen. Among the Tutsi this resulted in a levirate: the first husband was still the pater of the children whose genitor was the second husband. Among the Hutu, in similar cases, the genitor was pater. A widower often married a younger sister of his late wife if he was on good terms with his parents-in-law, and if they did not require bride-wealth for the deceased wife's younger sister. This marriage was favoured because it was thought that it was appropriate that the children of the first wife should be brought up by her sister.

(*b*) *The bride-wealth*

Bride-wealth had to be paid before the wedding ritual, but payment could sometimes be delayed. In that case more jugs of beer had to be given.

There were some regional variations in the amount of the bride-wealth, but within one region it did not vary very much within each caste. Among Tutsi it was usually one cow plus some jugs of beverage, and one hoe. The bride-wealth proper was the cow, as the beverages were rather contributions to the different celebrations taking place at the wedding. Among Hutu it was one heifer or cow (which could be replaced by about one dozen goats) and a number of jugs of banana-beer. The following table indicates the average bride-wealth paid by Tutsi and Hutu in the central region of Ruanda. Among Twa bride-wealth was composed of a certain number of pots of beverages.

TABLE OF THE STANDARD MARRIAGE GIFTS AND COUNTER-GIFTS IN CENTRAL RUANDA

A. HUTU

Groom's inzu		*Bride's inzu*
1.	one hoe, one jug of beer after agreement	
Father	——————→	Father
2.	one heifer or twelve to fourteen goats (bride-wealth) from one to three weeks after 1. (*gutenbutsa*)	
Father	——————→	Father
3.	household equipment on wedding day (*ibirongoranywa*)	
Groom	←——————	Father
4.	one hoe or one sheep or one goat + jugs of beer at the end of seclusion period	
Groom	←——————	Father

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

583 184

TABLE OF THE STANDARD MARRIAGE GIFTS AND COUNTER-GIFTS IN CENTRAL RUANDA—*cont.*

A. HUTU

Groom's inzu		*Bride's inzu*
5.	one hoe or one sheep or one goat (even one heifer) a week after each birth	
Groom	←	Kinsfolk
6.	counter-bride-wealth (stock increase of the bride-wealth) two or three years after marriage	
Father	←	Father

B. TUTSI

1.	one jug of hydromel, one hoe, one *isando* (forked branch of ficus tree)	
Father	→	Father
2.	one cow (bride-wealth) (*inkwano*) a few days later	
Father	→	Father
3.	one cow (counter-bride-wealth) when the bride leaves her father's homestead	
Father	←	Father
4.	household equipment on wedding day (*indogoranyo*)	
Groom	←	Father
5.	one heifer (*izimano*) on the day following wedding	
Father	→	Male abashyitsi
6.	one steer (*izimano*) on the day following wedding	
Father	→	Female abashyitsi
7.	jugs of beer, pots of milk, sorghum flour (*imitwa*) at the end of seclusion period	
Groom	←	Father
8.	one cow, jugs of beer, pots of milk at each birth (*ibihembo*)	
Groom	←	Kinsfolk

583 All our informants agree that bride-wealth was not considered very expensive. Moreover, counter-gifts were about as high. The girl's father had to provide the young couple with household equipment and to give the husband's father a counter-bride-wealth approximately equivalent to the bride-wealth itself. Among Tutsi it was proper to give the counter-gift before the wedding. Hutu gave back another heifer not later than after the third calving of the bride-wealth cow. In addition valuable gifts were given by the wife's kinsfolk after each birth.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

granted that a woman may fulfil these functions emphasizes the high status that women have enjoyed in Ruanda society. It is tempting to regard their status as a consequence of the economic responsibilities of the polygynous wives when replacing their husbands.

Besides this form of economic collaboration, wives, in nuclear as well as in polygynous families, had to perform certain economic tasks within the rugo. The activities which belonged exclusively to the wife, though she was sometimes helped by her daughters and certain other females were, for women of any caste: cleaning and brushing the hut and the enclosure, milk churning, and basket-making. In addition to these, Tutsi women made particular objects in basket-work (such as screens used in the hut, very finely woven plates, &c.), butter perfumed with the wood of a certain tree *umubavu* (such butter was used as a cosmetic), and garments in bead work. Hutu women had to cook and to apportion food. In agriculture their particular tasks were to sow and plant, to grind sorghum, and to sift peas. Twa women simply cooked.

The husband's contributions to the economic activities of the compound were, among the Tutsi, cattle-rearing and hunting (for the hides and skins); among the Hutu, hut-building, minding cattle (if they had any), felling the bush, and usually all the agricultural tasks requiring considerable physical strength. Moreover, they prepared bark-cloth and skins and forged iron implements. Among the Twa, husbands hunted and made bows and iron weapons.

The principles underlying this division of economic tasks exclusively performed by males or females were according to informants that men should carry out tasks which either were particularly hard, or required intelligence, had to be performed far from the compound, or were thought 'noble'.

Most other duties could be performed by men or women and were shared between husband and wife according to individual arrangements. Such activities were, for instance, in the case of the Tutsi: watching labourers working in the fields, and supervising them, doing menial tasks such as mending the enclosure, milking the cows or looking after the herds. For the Hutu they were: harvesting, brewing beer, drawing water, cutting and collecting wood, lighting and maintaining fires, making mats and baskets, &c. For the Twa: pot-making and brewing beer.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

[P. 89]

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC PRODUCTION

As we mentioned earlier, it was by land cultivation and cattle rearing that the Ruanda satisfied their fundamental subsistence requirements. Consequently land, cattle, knowledge of agricultural and cattle-breeding techniques, implements, and ability to work were essential in the economic process of production.

Ruanda economy was primitive in the sense that every rugo[1] was a unit which had to produce practically all that was necessary for the subsistence of its members. None of these units concentrated on certain crops and obtained other foodstuffs by exchange. Every family head was a producer. What access had he, then, to the different factors of production?

Knowledge of agriculture and cattle-rearing techniques was part of the common heritage of every Ruanda. The Hutu were more expert agriculturalists than the Tutsi, and though some Tutsi were probably more versed in cattle-rearing any Hutu had the knowledge necessary to a tiller and a herdsman. Equipment was not very elaborate, and hoes and bill-hooks were not scarce.

Access to the other factors of production, land, cattle, and labour, was more restricted. We shall now consider what were the opportunities of the individual family head from that point of view.

I. LAND TENURE

When Ruanda are asked who is the owner of the fields and pastures, some answer it is the king, others the land chief or the cattle chief, others the family head or the lineage head. All of them are right, which means that the question is wrongly phrased

The Ruanda did not conceive of ownership as a private and exclusive right to the various uses to which a thing may be submitted. They regarded each of the uses as the object of a particular right. It was not thought necessary that one person should be endowed with the sum of the rights affecting one object. On the contrary, it was usual that different persons could claim

[1] [rugo: The basic dwelling unit or compound; cf. p. 30 -- analyst]

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

It is still less easy to assess the relative importance of land and cattle taxes. Informants say that in the past they had to give a great deal, but such recollections of taxpayers do not mean very much. It is certain that if such a fiscal system has been maintained for numerous generations, exploitation has been kept within bearable limits. In Ruanda, as elsewhere, if the taxpayer is overburdened with dues and levies to such a point that he has not enough time and food left to go on producing, the source of impositions will dry up. Fifty years ago, after long practice, the Ruanda rulers had been able, it seems, by trial and error, to determine the exact amount of exploitation that the country could support. Yet if the group of taxpayers as such were not overexploited, it is certain that some individuals in the group have been very heavily taxed merely because those who had the power to impose taxes wanted to avenge a particular offence.

The taxpaying group was not restricted to the Hutu stratum since some tributes were due on cattle holdings. Agricultural dues and tribute labour however, were entirely provided by Hutu and as they constituted about ninety per cent. of the population, the total amount of their contribution was considerably higher than that of other groups.

Those who received benefit from this system were, first of all, the king and his spouses. They did not have to come and live in a district residence to have the use of the produce collected in that district. Goods were sent to the court or wherever the king wanted them. Other beneficiaries were the chiefs in charge of the collection: land-, cattle-, and hill-chiefs. About two-thirds of the impositions on agricultural produce was deducted by them. Were they all Tutsi? No, answered the Tutsi interviewed. According to ninety-two per cent. of them a Hutu could be appointed land-chief. But he could not become a cattle-chief, according to ninety-one per cent. This is quite understandable, as the first had to deal with Hutu and the second with Tutsi. But were many Hutu in fact endowed with the profitable responsibilities of the land-chief or the hill-chief? 258 informants (eighty-six per cent.) were able to give the names of Hutu land-chiefs, but they mentioned only thirty-four different names. A Hutu land-chief, Ndarwubatse, was mentioned 180 times, another, Kanyonyomba, 109 times, and another, Segore, ninety-seven times. As our informants were scattered throughout Ruanda it is very probable that the cases of

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

554 Ndarwubatse, Kanyonyomba, and Segore were exceptional and
622 that, in fact, Hutu were not very numerous among land-chiefs.
184 The share of Hutu in political power was probably symbolic rather than quantitatively great. Hutu could also be hill-chiefs and sixty-nine per cent. of our informants were able to mention a few names. According to ninety-nine per cent. a Twa could be neither land-chief nor cattle-chief, unless he were ennobled. But in that case, he was not socially a Twa any more, but assimilated to a Tutsi. Twa could be hill-chiefs; sixty-five per cent. of our Tutsi informants mentioned the names of such Twa. Neighbourhood heads were frequently Hutu, but the advantages they drew from their office were minimal, if any.

(*b*) *Maintenance of the central rulers in power*

661 One may conclude that the very great majority of the beneficiaries of the fiscal function of the administrative structure were people of the Tutsi group.

661 A second function of the administrative structure was to enable
634 those who enjoyed political power to keep it. The mwami and his
647 wives centralized the means necessary to afford an important court.
622 Moreover, by granting the profitable offices of land-, cattle-, and hill-chiefs, the mwami increased the number of his faithful dependents. For these chiefs of the administrative structure were appointed by the king. To the question 'who appointed the land- and the cattle-chiefs?' ten different answers were given, but if one adds up all the answers which named the mwami as the person or one of the persons who granted these official appointments, a majority of sixty-five is reached. The confusion in the answers seems due to the fact that different principles operated together in the nomination of such a chief. Firstly, one of the sons of the former office holder usually succeeded to his father, and the latter could often indicate his preferences, but this did not mean that the office was hereditary. Merely, it happened fairly frequently that the mwami liked to strengthen a man's loyalty on the understanding that if he was a good chief, the office could remain in his family. Secondly, the appointment could be made by the mwami following presentation of the candidate by an important chief, such as the army-chief. Consequently, it could appear that the latter was the one who gave the appointment. But the third principle remained: the king kept a complete control of these offices in the sense

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

courage of their forbears were made known to them, and the picture of the ideal Tutsi was impressed upon them.

The three main components of that ideal picture were *ubutware*, *ubugabo*, and *itonde*. *Ubutware* was the military courage so important in a group of conquerors. *Ubugabo* meant the quality of being a man (*mugabo*). This included trustworthiness in reference to promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage to accept one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority were predominantly personal in the sense that authority was rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis was put on fidelity in all interpersonal relationships. *Itonde* could be translated by self-mastery. To lose one's temper, to manifest violent emotions was shameful. Anger, particularly, could not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Tutsi was always to be dignified, polite, amiable, and a little supercilious. It was taken for granted that only vulgar persons showed off all their emotions. Hutu not being very self-controlled were much impressed by the external dignity of the Tutsi. There was in the *intore* companies a practical training in self-control. By jeers and scoffing, companions of the young Tutsi as well as older people, tried to make him angry and if he reacted emotionally, he was punished by further jokes. So finally he was able to remain apparently quiet and polite in any circumstances which would have elicited more violent reactions from people not thus trained.

Instruction aims at communicating a specialized knowledge and at teaching abilities in order to prepare certain individuals to fulfil the specialized tasks particularly useful to their group. The Ruanda armies instructed the young Tutsi in becoming experts in war and raiding. Some Tutsi are still proud of the superiority of their strategy over that of the Hima, pastoralists of related origin, who were living a more nomadic life in neighbouring territories.[21]

This socialization process, equipping personalities with qualities required of a nobleman, a courtier, and a warrior, was intended for Tutsi only. Hutu young men were not *intore* and did not become warriors, although Hutu were also members of the armies. But for them it meant being auxiliaries who carried the supplies

[21] On Hima, see Wilde, 1957.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

necessary to the warriors during the expeditions, and being liable for various services.

(c) *Army and lineage*

In its herdsmen's section, an army was constituted of patrilineages rather than individuals. According to 100 per cent. of the informants, the inzu head was the necessary intermediary between the army-chief and the army members of his lineage. He had the important task of apportioning the dues incumbent on the lineage between the different family heads. For instance when the numbering took place, he decided who was going to give, say, the three cows which were due by the lineage as such.

This connexion between the army, a group founded on a wide territorial basis, and the lineage, a group based on kinship, was very significant from two points of view.

Firstly, social cohesion was favoured and strengthened by the integration into one single structure of two systems which embodied different principles of grouping. In some other societies such systems remained independent. In Ruanda they formed a supple and strong network by which each Ruanda was tied to a political structure through a kinship structure.

Secondly, the authority of the inzu head over his kinsmen was limited by his incorporation in the military structure. In some circumstances an inzu member could ignore the authority of his inzu head and with the protection of his army-chief, remain independently in the army. At the numbering of cattle, for instance, he could present his own cattle separately from those of his patrilineage. This was, of course, advantageous for the chief who could claim a proportion of the cattle of the lineage plus a fraction of the cattle of the independent member. The lineage members could also bring a charge against their inzu chief before the army-chief, who could sometimes dismiss him. This limited the power of the lineage head and incited him to remain on good terms at the same time with his army-chief and the members of his inzu. This principle limiting the power of intermediary chiefs by the direct recourse of their subordinates to a superior authority had other applications in the Ruanda political organization. Its function was to reinforce the authority of the superior chief and to protect subordinates by giving them the possibility of resisting

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

is made narrower in order to give everybody the opportunity of obtaining sufficient personal security.

Such was, it appears, the first function of the *buhake* system in Ruanda. In that society where it was advisable to go into court accompanied by socially powerful persons, and when a Hutu possessing some wealth but no protector was risking the loss of his possessions, the feudal organization, by institutionalizing the identification of the Hutu client with the Tutsi lord, secured the necessary protection and security for the socially weak. With a few exceptions, the Twa were outside that feudal system. Their caste occupations were not compatible with cattle-rearing and made available to them other means of obtaining the personal protection of upper caste people. On the other hand, their small number made that kind of protection very effective.

(*d*) *Social cohesion*

A second function of the feudality in Ruanda was its contribution to the cohesion of the society.

In this respect we have to distinguish the feudal agreements in which clients were Hutu from those in which they were Tutsi. Let us first take the former. In order that two castes whose interests were so often divergent or opposed could constitute a stable unitary structure, it was necessary that they should not remain merely juxtaposed but should show some solidarity. Through the feudal relations economic currents flowed between Hutu and Tutsi: the land tillers had at their disposal some cattle; the pastoralists consumed agricultural produce and had fields cultivated by their servants and clients. In this way the economic system of production in Ruanda was mixed, made up of techniques, abilities, and wealth brought by the two groups. Through *buhake*, Hutu participated in the Tutsi values. They valued cattle very highly and entered the prestige system based on bovine possession. They assimilated some Tutsi alimentary habits, such as drinking milk. Feudality proved a very effective instrument for the constitution of a culture common to all Ruanda.

When there was a feudal agreement between two Tutsi, the *buhake* had another relevance to social cohesion. It may be said that any Tutsi client was also a lord and any Tutsi lord was also a client. The mwami was the only patron who was nobody's client. His *garagu* were the great Tutsi chiefs, the lords of less important

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

possible that when Tutsi first came into the country, the difference was greater than at the beginning of this century. It was not, however, to be compared with the difference existing, for instance, between the material culture of the Europeans in Central Africa and of the Africans during the nineteenth century and at the present time. A large and complex material culture is one of the most important factors not only in conquest but also in the maintenance of a dominant group's superiority. Motor vehicles, dwellings in permanent materials, electric power, European kinds of food are so fundamentally different from the traditional Central African means of transportation and habitat that it is easy for those who have the almost exclusive use of them to maintain high prestige and great power.

Except for cattle, Tutsi material equipment did not allow them to impress on Hutu minds, to a comparable extent, the idea of their superiority. Certainly they had more spacious compounds, they were better dressed than the Hutu, they drank better beer, and when travelling, instead of walking, they were frequently carried on a litter by Hutu or Twa servants. All these differences, important as they were, were only, however, differences of quantity and degree, characterizing two strata which had not the same access to the good things of life, rather than essential differences. By 'essential' is meant here that the Tutsi equipment did not include elements such as steam-machines, electricity or gun-power, which, when possessed exclusively by a group, are sufficient to secure an easy domination. Tutsi power did not rest on a superiority in material culture.

Another relevant background factor was the ratio between Tutsi and Hutu. As was previously stated, it is not possible to know that ratio very accurately. It is very likely, however, that it was never greater than ten or fifteen per cent. This fact was extremely important, because an economic exploitation of land tillers for the benefit of cattle-raisers would have been impossible if the Tutsi had numbered much more than this percentage of the total population. If, for instance, the Tutsi had constituted fifty per cent. of the population, the Hutu would not have been able to provide them with the foodstuffs and labour necessary to comfortable subsistence. Oberg makes similar comments on the ratio between pastoralists and agriculturalists in Ankole.[1]

[1] Oberg, 1940, p. 126.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

One may wonder whether this demographic factor appeared to the Tutsi as a purely natural fact completely beyond their control, or whether they tried to maintain that fortunate proportion. We know that they made it difficult for a Hutu to enter their caste, but it does not seem that they favoured a restriction in the number of their group and an increase in the Hutu group. They shared with the Hutu a very high valuation of fertility and appreciated families with numerous offspring. It should not be forgotten that if a decrease in population would have contributed towards giving each member of the Tutsi caste a greater share in the wealth of the group in an imperceptible degree, for the individual, to have many children was a way to obtain also a greater share of wealth in a very perceptible manner. I suspect that the latter consideration was much clearer than the former for any Tutsi. It is also questionable if the bringing about of the first situation would have been psychologically compatible with the attitude of self-assertion of a domineering caste of warriors. At all events the demographic situation of Ruanda has been a factor favouring, even making possible, the economic exploitation of a majority by a minority.

A third factor which made the second so crucial was the type of economy of the country. Because of the relatively poor soil, the irregularity of the rains, and the methods of cultivation, there was not a very considerable surplus. Having to subsist on a very limited national income, the rulers had to cope with an economic problem in the fundamental meaning of the term—that is, they had to organize a way of life with means insufficient to meet needs. This emphasized the capital importance of compulsory labour and tributes, of regular and efficient collection, and of an apportionment of levies which did not let any prospective taxpayer escape.

A limited character of national resources is certainly a circumstance adverse to the centralization of a government. Indeed, a very centralized government needs a complex machinery: agencies, army, messengers, civil servants, local delegates, &c. Such an organisation had been built up in Ruanda in spite of the small economic surplus.

A biological element also has been significant in the establishment and maintenance of Tutsi power in Ruanda. This was the difference in physical appearance between Tutsi and Hutu. Whatever may be the objectivity of physical caste characteristics,

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

it is certain that there were (and still are) Tutsi and Hutu physical stereotypes socially recognized. Such characteristics regarded as significant were, for the Tutsi, to be slender, tall, and light skinned; for the Hutu, to be short and stout with coarse features. To conform to one of these types was not sufficient to make of a man a Tutsi or a Hutu. Indeed there were some Tutsi and Hutu who did not possess the physical characteristics of their caste.

Sociological and psychological studies devoted to racial problems, and particularly to anti-semitism, have stressed the importance of the physical stereotypes of groups. It is immaterial whether the stereotypes are verified in the majority of cases, or only quite rarely. What *is* important is that they provide a basis on which many moral, psychological, and occupational characteristics are crystallized and form a simple picture. This picture, haunting the imagination of those it is supposed to represent as well as of the others, makes everyone extremely conscious of his group participation and of the differences that separate his group from the others.

The fact that a group is characterized by a physical type differentiating it from the others is a factor which may act both ways from the standpoint of social and political power. A minority endowed with a stereotyped physical appearance will have a very great social visibility. If that minority is at the bottom of the hierarchy, its members are constantly despised, and develop attitudes characteristic of those who are looked down on by those with whom they have to live. Consequently, they are hopelessly confined to their group and enjoy almost no opportunity to increase their power. This was the case of the Twa. Their physical stereotype stressed all the features which could be interpreted as ape-like.

If, on the contrary, that physically stereotyped minority is at the top of the power structure, it avails itself of its appearance, regarded as 'beautiful', to support its claims to an innate superiority. Consequently, it is an asset to its power.

Tutsi have been able to use the three different stereotypes of the physical characteristics of the Ruanda castes as a confirmation of their superiority: they have convinced all Ruanda that to be slender and light skinned is much better than to be stout and dark (this was even aesthetically translated in the patterns used in the ornamentations of baskets: they manifested a preference for elongated slim forms). They used the stereotypes also as a proof

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

of their different nature which entitled them to rule and as a guarantee against social mobility: because a Hutu was usually not endowed with the Tutsi physical characteristics he could not easily pass the line.

Two other important elements related to the political power system of Ruanda were its extent and its orographic configuration. The country was not very large, about 100 miles from north to south and 140 from west to east. But its relief was that of a maze of hills, many of them very steep, separated by deep valleys. Moreover, it was traversed, from north to south, by a chain of mountains which separate the Congo and Nile basins and is covered with very dense forests inhabited by elephants, leopards, and buffalo.

A centralized government requires good communications. The king must remain, as much as possible, in constant contact with all the regions of his country; tribute must reach the capital regularly, armies must arrive rapidly in any place threatened by an external enemy; local authorities must not be left isolated lest they become too independent. The small extent of Ruanda was indeed an asset from this point of view but this was largely neutralized by the relief which made communications extremely difficult. Notwithstanding these unfavourable physical factors, the mwami had been able to establish and maintain his political network connecting all the subordinate authorities of Ruanda to himself.

These five elements are among those which more significantly affected the domination system of the Tutsi. They are the only ones. Three of them refer to the social power of the Tutsi caste (type of material culture, Tutsi-Hutu ratio, physical appearance), while two others (economy with a small surplus, area, and relief) were operative rather in the sphere of political power. Only two of these background facts (demographic ratio and physical type) were favourable to the domination pattern whereas one (absence of a different material equipment apart from cattle) was neutral and two (lack of a great surplus, geographic configuration) were obstacles.

2. THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF DOMINATION

Within the limits set by these conditions external to the social system, Tutsi had to adapt their organization in order to keep the dominant position for their caste and its rulers. Their problem

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

was: how to monopolize social and political power to their benefit without preventing a Ruanda society from existing and functioning as a unity? How to realize an equilibrium between the necessities of any social life and the necessities of a permanent dominion of a group? This fundamental problem may be analysed into three antinomies; maintaining a caste society and promoting the cohesion of the society as a whole; exploiting and protecting the lower stratum; delegating powers to subordinate authorities and establishing a centralized and absolute government. How were these antinomies solved?

(*a*) *Caste society and social cohesion*

In order that the members of a dominant and hereditary group may keep their privileges, it is necessary that what gives prestige remains exclusively under their control. We have seen that in Ruanda the basis of social power and prestige lay in the effective disposal of cattle. As indicated earlier, the feudal system permitted the Tutsi to keep complete control of all Ruanda cattle, as the whole of a client's cattle was always liable to be confiscated by the lord under any pretence. Moreover, outside the *buhako* structure, the king kept the pre-eminent right over all Ruanda cattle. Even if he did not use frequently his rights against Hutu, they were not forgotten: the very cows which were not received from a lord but acquired by one's own efforts and over which the possessor had usufruct plus bare ownership, were called 'king's cows' (*inka z'umwami*) as often as *imbata*.

Usually, an upper caste shows its superiority by, among other things, its leisure and pleasant life. It has to enjoy a greater share of the good things of life than the commoners and it has to get this apparently without effort, rather as a right than as a reward for specific tasks. It was again the *buhake* which made it possible for the Tutsi caste to enjoy 'gracious living' becoming to its high social status. The man in control of a few head of cattle could, through the clientage institution, live without having to participate in the manual work of the production processes.

A third requirement for the maintenance of a caste identity is the preservation of the group's *esprit de corps* and traditions and their handing on by one generation to the next one. This was done in the kinship groups mainly by the grandparents, particularly by the paternal grandfather. There, lineage values and particular

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

traditions were transmitted. But a multiplicity of kinship group agents cannot be entrusted with a function as important for the caste as the socialization of its young members and their training in the qualities and virtues which had permitted their forbears to obtain power. Consequently, in Ruanda some formal institutes of education and instruction were set up. The *intore* companies in which every young man of the Tutsi caste spent several years, fulfilled these functions.

In order to avoid the dogma of the innate superiority of the upper layer being questioned if one of its members had to be cast out because he was unable to live up to the standards of his group, the clientage system acted as an institutionalized means of rescuing such people. It should be mentioned that the rescuer was not losing anything, as the Tutsi saved from social death could give him in return what was mainly expected from any Tutsi client: his attendance and his councils.

The tendency which leads a powerful group to constitute a closed caste, to maintain jealously its advantages, and to try to increase them, cannot be left without something to counterbalance it. Each caste, as Linton says, is a society in itself.[8] If the caste accentuates too much the characteristics which make it a socially complete group, isolated in the society of which it is only one layer, the cohesion of that society may be destroyed. Consequently, powerful factors of cohesion are needed to check the tendency towards social disintegration that exists within any caste structure. I have described solidarity factors already, but they may be summarized here.

First, there are certain groupings in which Tutsi and Hutu were to be found together. Names of the Tutsi and Hutu clans were similar. This suggested a certain solidarity among the bearers of the same clan name, however minimal it was. A comparable kind of Hutu participation existed in the armies. It is possible that the fact of having been commonly associated in dangerous circumstances gave a deeper feeling of unity to Hutu and Tutsi. The Ryangombe sect was open to Hutu and Twa as well as to Tutsi. Ryangombe himself is said to have addressed his invitation to join to every Ruanda, explicitly calling the Tutsi, the Hutu, the Twa, the men and the women.[9] As initiation ritual took place among kinsmen, however, there was no real inter-caste mingling in the

[8] Cf. Linton, 1936, pp. 130 f. [9] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 257.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

ceremonies. We may say that clan, army, and sect were 'national' only nominally and superficially. Notwithstanding, these associations between Hutu and Tutsi had probably some limited significance from the standpoint of social cohesion.

In that connexion, *buhake* is a much more important factor. By that agreement, almost any Hutu was linked to a Tutsi, and partook in the social power of the upper caste by identifying himself with a protector who was a member of the dominant group. He obtained for his disposal some cattle, the symbol of artistic values, and he entered into exchange relationships with the nobility. Through the clientage institution, Ruanda constituted a unified economic system which distributed agricultural and pastoral products among the totality of the population. The personal bond with a privileged caste member and access to possession, however precarious, of cattle, seem to have been essential from the point of view of national solidarity.

A third integrative factor was social mobility, even as limited as it was in Ruanda. It is certain that the number of Hutu and Twa assimilated to Tutsi because of their holding of political offices or because of their wealth, has always been tiny.

The possibility of being accepted into the superior group even if it is illusory for almost all the members of the inferior group has had in many societies a very great integrative influence. It is well known that in the United States, during the first quarter of this century, the fact that a few men among the wealthiest of the country had been born poor, greatly contributed to the psychological solace of a considerable mass of men and women who had personally no opportunity to achieve such brilliant successes. In addition to individual comfort, the belief that there was no intrinsically insuperable obstacle (such as having been born outside a closed hereditary group) helped Americans to feel that they were all members of the same nation regarded as not significantly stratified.

I do not imply that the social ascent of a few Hutu has played a similar part in Ruanda. Firstly, there was no egalitarian ideology which makes almost unbearable the fact that one is obliged by birth to live in an inferior social group; secondly, cases of inter-caste mobility were extremely rare in Ruanda. Nevertheless, these cases were a proof for Hutu that, although not belonging to the upper stratum, they were members of the Ruanda nation as well as Tutsi. They did not feel that they were out-group people.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

well as Tutsi. They did not feel that they were out-group people.

A fourth factor which counterbalanced the socially disintegrative influence of the caste system was the plurality of the structures in which any Ruanda was affiliated.

Through several structures, subjects were much more efficiently bound among themselves and to their rulers than in a unique hierarchy. In the latter case, indeed, if the individual can extricate himself from that hierarchy, he becomes absolutely unattached. In Ruanda, even if one link was broken, the subject did not escape from his superior chiefs. Indeed, he was linked to them, particularly to the mwami, by more than one tie. Almost any Ruanda was dependent on the king through two hierarchical channels: *via* his hill-chief (who himself was subordinated to the cattle- and land-chief) and *via* his army-chief. In addition, the feudal system integrated him into a set of personal loyalty relations such that the person occupying the superior position in one of these relations is himself an inferior in another relation.

It should be mentioned also that any Ruanda was a member of three kin groups: primary and secondary patrilineages and clan. Of course kinship affiliations as such did not cut across caste lines (except for the clan name), but as many of these kinship groups had been for so long established in Ruanda territory, they were certainly a supplementary link between the individual and his country.

The network of relations woven by the political and clientage systems was particularly important in a country where there were no clear-cut groupings based on co-residence. This has led some observers to believe that Ruanda were living in a kind of social vacuum. On the contrary, a Ruanda was never isolated: his social links connected him with the authorities and were ramified, if not in the whole territory, at least in a large area of it.

The last factor of social cohesion to be mentioned here was the ideology developed around the monarchic institution. The mwami was regarded as the king of all Ruanda and not only of the Tutsi. His divine origin keeping him separate from men, bestowed on him an authority which no commoner thought to question. He was closely connected with Imana, conceived as a supreme god rather remote but benevolent. The mwami, representative of Imana, was the father and protector of all Ruanda. Was it not enough to assume towards him a filial attitude and to feel one's

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

dependency upon him? As in many cultures in which a king is a paternal and divine image, the Ruanda monarch certainly contributed towards the creation in Ruanda individuals of a feeling of belonging to a unit which presented some similarities to a family.

This was, it seems, how the Ruanda political and feudal structures, by their complexity, succeeded in keeping an equilibrium between, on one hand, the tendencies towards social disintegration that a caste system necessarily produces and, on the other, the minimal cohesion necessary to the maintenance of a social unit such as a nation.

(*b*) *Exploitation and protection of Hutu*

The Tutsi were confronted with the dilemma that all conquerors must solve when they settle on a new territory with the intention of staying permanently: are they going to draw upon the natural resources of the country themselves, using their own labour and equipment, and to remove from the area the aboriginal inhabitants by pushing them further on and even by exterminating them as a people, or are they to let them stay and use them by having them working for their benefit? Europeans who settled in North America adopted the first solution, they did not attempt to use Indian labour and they expelled the native population from their hunting areas and began to cultivate their country. The second method has been chosen in most parts of Africa south of the Sahara where Europeans have settled.

Whether Tutsi have explicitly considered this problem is immaterial here. In fact they have adopted the solution which was most advantageous to them. Being pastoralists and not numerous (in comparison with the Hutu peasants), they had no interest in expelling them. If this had been done, they would have had either to till the land themselves or to dispense with beer, peas, sorghum, &c. It was preferable for Tutsi to adopt what Oppenheimer calls the bee-keeper's policy (as opposed to the bear's policy who for the purpose of robbing the beehive, destroys it),[4] that is to say, to keep in the country peasants in order permanently to exploit their productive work. Those who control territory are not a dominant group; it is upon men that power is exerted.

We have seen how, through the political and feudal structures, the country's surplus resources were drained and concentrated in

[4] Oppenheimer, 1922, pp. 65 ff.

593 784 daughter is the necessity to prevent incest. The taboo is strong enough to serve as the basis of the oath in court. A man "swears on his daughter", by saying, "If a lie, may I do that act with my daughter, the one named such-and-such".

581 Despite the physical and social distance between father and daughter, they are jointly interested in the earliest possible marriage for her. She is impatient for the pleasures and privileges of the married woman. He is looking forward to the dowry, which he keeps entirely for himself. It is possible that a mother will do her best to put off the marriage. She does not stand to profit from it at all. On the contrary, the departure of her daughter diminishes the available labour supply for work in the home and in the fields. Young people brought up in the homes of the great must wait a 582 long time before their master or mistress will allow them to leave to [357] be married. The *inchoreke*, young women of good family who are the personal servants of princes and princesses, are often 25 years old before they are married. The *abakamyi*, young men of good family who milk for the great families, are sometimes 35 or 40 at marriage. Among the commoners, the children of the wealthy are [565] able to marry early, the girls at 15 or 16 and the boys at 18. Poor people envy them and have to wait five to ten years longer before they can be married.

584 A girl's father waits for a visit from a man who is looking for a wife for his son. Sometimes, a boy may ask his father to dower a young girl to whom he has taken a fancy. However, it is the two fathers who decide everything. Neither the girl nor the boy need be formally advised of their father's decisions. Nevertheless, a father will probably tell his son and a mother will tell her daughter. [564] If not, a girl among the Tutsi of western Burundi will guess that she is engaged from the arrival of the prescribed number of pots of beer from the family asking for her and from the gifts of beer and food sent by relatives for the celebration. She will guess the approach of the wedding day most easily from the construction of the [591 342] *indaro*, a temporary dwelling, in her father's yard, where she will live with her husband for the first year of the marriage. (On the wedding day, the girl's father must absent himself from his house.) 591 If the new husband and wife are satisfied with each other and if they have a child, they will leave to take up permanent residence on the property the young husband has received from his father.

585 The Tutsi in the east of Burundi and the Hutu marry at the home [184] of the groom's father. It is then the young man who deduces from the activities in the household that he will soon be married. The intended bride should properly be told who her intended bride-

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

[5]For the most part, what is here said of Burundi was true also of the people of the neighbouring kingdom of Ruanda. Significant differences will be footnoted. For the hierarchical principle in Ruanda, see: J. J. Maquet, *Le Système des Relations sociales dons le Ruanda ancien*, Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Ethnologie, vol. I, 1954.

[6]Burundi is changing its laws. Thus, women and other social inferiors increasingly enjoy legal privileges and rights.

[7]In Ruanda, the queen-mother shared the royal power with her son, the *mwami*. This was not the case in Burundi.

[8]Very little will be said about religion in Burundi. The cult of Kiranga, the ancestor cult, and every other aspect of traditional religion and belief have been legally suppressed. About one-third of the population have been converted to Christianity. Religion, traditional and contemporary, is always important in the life of a society, but it may be concluded from the behaviour, the interests and the values of the Rundi that their society is secular rather than sacred.

[9]The word "caste" is not entirely satisfactory for describing the social distinctions of Burundi. However, there does not seem to be any better translation for the term, *aboko*, which connotes racial differences and to which are attached taboos and marriage regulations which separate rather rigidly these divisions of Rundi society.

[7]Although the terms "Hamitic" and "Bantu" are, properly speaking, linguistic terms, they will be used here, for lack of anything better, in their common acceptation as referring to social-cultural groups.

[8]In Ruanda, the Twa are more respected than the Hutu. Moreover, caste distinctions in Ruanda are social rather than racial. *Cf.* J. J. Maquet, *op. cit.*

[9]When the *mwami* of Ruanda gave a Tutsi wife to a man of an inferior caste, he raised the man to the higher caste.

[10]*Cf.* Jean Hiernaux, *Analyse de la Variation des Caractères physiques humains en une Région de l'Afrique centrale: Ruanda-Urundi et Kivu.* Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Anthropologie, vol. 3, 1956.

[11]Since 1952, polygamy is no longer permitted. Nevertheless, there are still a good many plural marriages. In the past, a prince might easily have had 20 wives. The average Rundi, however, would not have been wealthy enough to pay for more than two or three.

[12]These taboos are not known in Ruanda.

[13]The Hutu husband is obliged to build and to make repairs on the house, to take care of the banana grove that encircles the homestead, and to brew banana beer.

[14]In the past, there was only one harvest each year. There are now two, but the second one is relatively light.

[15]Almost nothing is known about the Twa, except that the men go to the marshes for the clay needed by the women to make pots and then sell them. The work in the fields is done by the women, but it appears that the men are often home and help.

[16]It has been suggested that anæmia explains the physiological condition interpreted by the Rundi as a prolonged pregnancy.

[17]Blinded by the ideas of my own culture about men's interest in their children's paternity, I wasted a great deal of time in the field seeking confirmation from Hutu and Tutsi, the Europeanized and the traditional. I was finally convinced of the lack of interest in biological paternity. This is, in any case, in keeping with the rather liberal rules pertaining to sexual relations in the kinship system.

WTA 18